

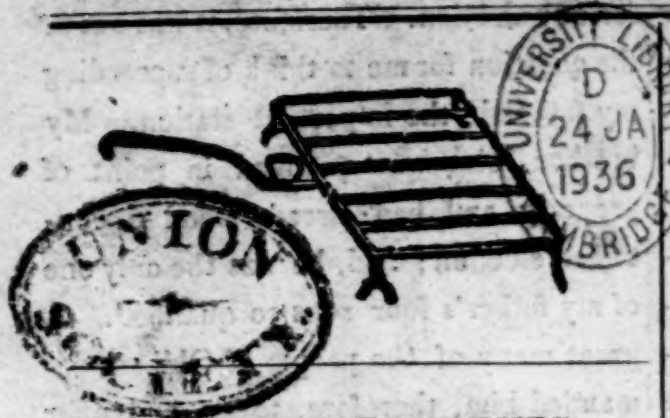
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COBBETTS WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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LONDON, SATURDAY, JULY 11TH, 1835.

[Price 9d.]



TO CORRESPONDENTS.

*Beck's Coffee-house, Bolt-court, Fleet-street,
9. July, 1835.*

I HAVE to request that all letters addressed to me be directed or delivered as above; where I beg also, that all gentlemen who may have any business with me, or wish to see me, will call for that purpose. The alterations necessary to make immediately in the private house at Bolt-court, render that house of no use to me at present, except as a mere publishing-place; and the business of publishing is totally disconnected with editing and with all other business whatever. All friends and correspondents may rely on punctual attention to their communications, if addressed as here requested, and *post-paid*.

WM. COBBETT, Jun.

THE REGISTER.

THIS publication will, commencing with next week, be to all intents and purposes, except that of advertisements, a newspaper, calculated for the use of gentlemen who wish to have a weekly account of all the important public events, and of the state of all important public affairs; and, who wish to have such an account, divested of all trivial and useless news, not worth filing with care and

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keeping to refer to. Being a newspaper of this sort, and preserving its original character as well as title of "*Register*," it will contain also, every week, original articles written by myself, or by one or more of my brothers; and, it is a satisfaction to me so far, that my brother John is not at present returned as Member for Oldham, as his very great talents may be more devoted to the contributing to the maintenance and perpetuation of our father's work.

With regard to our *principles*, principles with us are not so light a thing as to be varied or modified, and we have never been taught to make them a marketable commodity. Our principles are precisely those of our father, in every respect and upon every point. As to all his principles upon which he has instructed the world, our duty is plain, and we shall follow it. We shall echo all that he has ever said; and, if there be any case in which he has left us without a principle, we shall be extremely diffident, indeed, in adopting that which is recommended by others, and still more diffident in starting ideas of our own. We shall, in short, continue the *Register* as a vehicle for disseminating our father's principles, and for no other purpose, except that of obtaining that approbation which the faithful performance of this duty may procure us.

This week, we being separated, and each absorbed in pressing affairs, the apology which I hereby make to the public I hope will be accepted, and the valuelessness of the present Number excused,

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on account of the manifold reasons which must necessarily occasion it. The great objection which I have that this *Register* should be even contributed to by any hands but those of my father's own family and name, I am sure will be duly appreciated by all his sincere friends; for it must be evident that it must shortly become a work of a totally different character, from that of the thorough and complete independence which has always distinguished it.

OLDHAM ELECTION.

THIS election has terminated by the rejection of Mr. JOHN COBBETT, by a majority of 13: the number of votes polled for him having been 381, for Mr. LEES 394, and for Mr. FEARGUS O'CONNOR 36. The circumstances of this contest and defeat are too interesting for me not to recommend them to the attention of the readers of the *Register*. I have inserted, in another part of this number, the various reports given by those who are disappointed at the result, and at the same time disapprove of the conduct of my brother and his supporters. In the first place, the reader will find the *Morning Chronicle* report of the nomination; second, Mr. FEARGUS O'CONNOR's reasons for resigning; third, the final report of the majority against my brother.

It is right, in the first place, that no misunderstanding should go abroad, with regard to the motives of the parties, and to the influence said to have been made use of, and to have decided the election. To avoid all disguise, I myself was not prepared for the shocking event which

caused the vacancy, for I had never prepared myself, in point of *qualification*, for any election. Therefore, it was out of the question for me to think of succeeding my father in the important station. My brother John was qualified in point of property, and had already stood a contested election; and, he was the only one of my father's four sons so qualified. A great many of the people of Oldham demanded him, therefore, to go and offer himself, with which demand, made in the shape of a requisition, and forwarded by a special deputation, he complied: but, with what sort of will and alacrity, can only be judged of by considering the circumstances under which he was called upon; and, any one will readily believe, that he would have given all he was worth not to be qualified to go through so painful a task.

Such being the motives or pretensions upon which my brother offered himself, I cannot omit to allude to the liberties which have been taken by Mr. Feargus O'Connor with the name of Mr. Fielden, and his injurious reflections thereby cast upon my father. This gentleman, in his disappointment, accuses Mr. Fielden of having endeavoured to thrust a *nominee* upon the people of Oldham. Every one must perceive, that the insinuation is herein put forth, that my father himself must have been a nominee also. At the same time, however, that this very logical gentleman speaks of Mr. Fielden as having such influence; of being, in short, a sort of reformed boroughmonger: thus libelling all the parties, the surviving representative, his deceased colleague, and their constituents: at the same time he says, that the conduct of Mr. Fielden

has brought upon him the disapprobation of the electors, and that he will be called upon to resign!

No one will deny, I hope, that Mr. Fielden had a right to have a *wish*, and, also, to express his wish; and, that, both were perfectly consistent with declining to take a part in the election. Mr. Fielden might, perhaps, have caused the election to terminate differently, if he had taken such part; but, no one will blame him for leaving it to be decided wholly and entirely by the good sense and known integrity of the people of Oldham.

In what light, therefore, is the very equal division of the electors of Oldham on this occasion to be considered? We see, that those same electors, who were unanimous in voting for my father, and who gave only three votes against him at the first election, and not one vote against him at the last; we see that these same electors now divide, and vote nearly in equal numbers for my brother and for Mr. Lees, who avows himself a Tory. It requires, however, but a very little consideration, and a little knowledge of the several persons concerned, to view this matter in its proper light. Though Mr. Lees avows himself a Tory, he is one of a family having the greatest claims to the respect and affection of the inhabitants of Oldham, to which that family and himself belong. The excellent reputation and invariable kind demeanour of that family are the best proof that the principles they profess will never be acted upon in a corrupt or tyrannical manner; and the readers of the *Register* know very well the marked manner in which my father, after the last election, testified his respect to the then returning officer, who is a brother of the present Member. Added to the circumstances of knowledge of private character possessed by the people of Oldham of this gentleman, may I not ask Mr. Feargus O'Connor, if he think that all the earnest exhortations of my father to his constituents, not to be deluded by the Whigs, have been thrown away by the people who have been so justly celebrated for their political sagacity and integrity as the people of Oldham? His exhortations have not been made in

vain: and we now see a part of their effect, in convincing the people of Oldham that it is wise to prefer a Tory whom they know, to a man, who supports those who have liberalism and humanity on their lips, with the annihilation of the Poor-law and the perpetuation of taxation in their hearts. Further, we must take into view the great number of the electors who must have partiality for a townsman such as Mr. Lees, and which partiality could be suspended in favour of no other individual, and was superseded only for the great object of securing the election of my father. So that it is a purely gratuitous insinuation which has been put forth, that there has been here, or ever was, influence made use of by Mr. Fielden, who, by-the-by, has no connexion whatever at Oldham, and was, like my father, elected purely for his known political principles, which were precisely those of his lamented colleague. The place for Mr. Fielden to have represented, if from private connexions at all, was Rochdale, for which place he would have been returned unanimously if he had chosen; but he declined, in order that he might stand with and be the colleague of my father.

With regard to the political conduct of my brother at the election, that is to say to his declaration of principles, and particularly his answers to certain questions, which will be found in the report of the nomination: with regard to this, I think it necessary to say a few words, speaking of course for myself only, as he is not yet returned. It appears that Mr. HALLIDAY put the question to him, "whether he would vote for the expulsion of the bishops from the House of Lords?" and it appears that he answered, "I never will." Now, in giving this answer, my brother has taken a negative part, in a project for making a very great change in the form of Government. I do not hesitate to say, a very great change indeed, which, in a very short time, must be felt in all the forms which have been handed down to us by our ancestors. It is said that the change would be good; however, there is no experience of this; and a man may require time, at least, to make up his mind about all projects of

this tremendous importance, and which are all theoretical.

I must declare, therefore, that I most heartily concur in the caution of my brother in making an answer in the affirmative, to this question. This is not the time to discuss this subject fully; but, I must here observe generally, that it is the *removal of taxation*, and the *restoring of the Poor-law*, which must be the chief objects in the political conduct of myself and of all those with whom I will act, either publicly or privately; and, that, for these objects I must leave aside all participation in schemes for altering any part of the form of government, or any part of the institutions in either church or state not conducive to these main and essential objects.

WM. COBBETT, Jun.

POOR MAN'S BIBLE.

THIS work was not finished by my father; nor was it begun, if by beginning should be meant his putting his own pen to the paper, or dictating, for the matter which was to compose the book. But the mere act of writing is not that which is the chief in the forming of a book. The design of a book, as of everything else, is formed, complete, in the head; and the man in whose head the design is formed remains the author, though there be fifty amanuenses employed. The merit is with the general or the minister, who plans any measure in military or political affairs; the same with a farmer or merchant, though one do not hold the plough himself, and though the other do not leave his counting-house, to make the bargains for which he gives orders; and it is just the same with the author, in whose mind spring the morals to be inculcated and the arguments to be made use of.

Thus the "Poor Man's Bible" was

so far complete; and it is an easy matter for me now to perform the remaining part of the authorship, or rather the editorship. I know, by conversation with my father, the whole design of his book, and the whole of the divers parts of the Old and New Testament (not omitting altogether the books called the Apocrypha) which he intended should compose this most important book, upon which he has meditated a long time. And I shall immediately compose this book; and I shall, with all due submission, offer it to the world, for the world to judge whether I do not perform the task faithfully.

The book is in the first place divided into six parts. The divisions and the titles to them are my father's own. Under the several divisions, the parts of the Scripture, intended to be used, are arranged. With regard to the selections of the passages, I cannot say, nor do I wish to say, that I shall not make a great many of the selections myself: for, it was this part which was, for want of time, left most unfinished; because, it was a real work of time, and of time principally, to arrange and classify the passages from the different parts and bring them under a different view.

So that, the principal part of the task which I undertake to perform, is this latter, and in which the reader will have full opportunity of judging for himself of the degree of discretion exhibited by me. With regard to all the parts consisting of original writing, the parts intended by my father to consist of such matter, if not complete from his own pen or dictation, will be completed by myself; but, I shall, if this be necessary, not publish one word as coming from the pen of my father, if this be not strictly true.

POOR-LAW STRUGGLE.

DISTURBANCES AT GREAT BIRCHAM AND BIRCHAM TOFTS.

(From the *Norfolk Chronicle*.)

IN consequence of the general recommendation of the poor-law commissioners, as well as from the particular observations made thereon by Sir Edward Parry to the overseers of the above parishes, it was decided that at least a part of the allowance made to the surplus poor should be made in kind. Accordingly on Saturday, 20. June, on application of one, and the first of such, as had to receive relief, an offer of one shilling and sixpence for flour and one shilling for shop goods, by tickets was made, he having earned, and been paid six shillings for labour done during the week; this he instantly and determinately refused to accept, urging that the system would be resisted by the whole of the poor, which was done, and on the following Monday, 22., a general strike from all work took place, large parties of men going to the fields and premises of the farmers, of the two parishes, and forcing those who had commenced their labour to leave their employment and unite with them; and this was insisted upon even in the case of the hired yearly servants. The whole week was thus passed in idleness, sullen discontent, and complainings. At length, a friend from an adjoining parish offered to Mr. Kitton, the largest farmer in Great Bircham, two men who were willing to work for him and resist the threat of the Bircham men to prevent them; and on Monday morning last, the 29., went with these two men to Bircham, and on their leaving the farm-yard, each with a pair of horses, they were immediately assailed in the most violent manner, torn from their horses, while Mr. Hunter, their master, was also dragged off the horse he was riding, and severely ill-treated by blows &c. Warrants were now applied for and granted, to apprehend the four men who were most active in these proceedings, and it was judged proper to order the governor of the Walsingham Bridewell with a party of constables to accompany him in the exe-

cution of the warrants. By this time every male inhabitant, except the very old, were armed with heavy bludgeons, and on the arrival of the civil force in the governor's caravans, one of the four men was seized and secured therein, notwithstanding the determined attempt at rescue and the violent personal injuries sustained by the acting civil officers; but on a second man being laid hold of by Mr. Tilney, one of the governor's assistants, he was instantly knocked down, and while on the ground received many brutal blows on the head, arms, and shoulders, like those from a sledge-hammer. Mr. Hunter, who had accompanied to identify one or two of the individuals, was dragged from his horse, his coat torn in pieces, and such violence done to him that at length in self-defence, he produced a pistol and threatened to shoot the next individual who approached; the *melee*, however, was general; Mr. Hebgin, Mr. Howlett, both farmers in the parishes, who had been charged as parish constables to assist, and others, received many severe wounds, and at length the governor, Mr. Curtis, and his party were obliged to retreat with their single prisoner, leaving Mr. Tilney behind, who, by almost incredible efforts, was at length rescued and put to bed in a most dreadfully mutilated state about the head and face, having received on the head alone seven contused wounds, one of which was upwards of three inches in length down to the bone. In driving off the caravan, the wife of one of the principal ring-leaders was pushed down and driven over, but sustained no great injury. The windows of the different farm-houses were now assailed with stones, and it became necessary to close the shutters inside.

A messenger was privately dispatched about seven in the evening to a neighbouring magistrate who had signed the warrants, urging the necessity of some force being called in to ensure safety, as from the spirit indicated by the mob, most serious apprehensions were entertained. Answer was returned that he had already dispatched, or would immediately dispatch orders to the commanders of the Rainham and Melton troops of Yeomanry Cavalry, and that the Preventive Service

men from the coast would be at his house by eleven o'clock, to be sent for there in case disturbance occurred. This too surely followed, for at between eleven and twelve o'clock, from the numbers of ill-disposed pouring in from the adjacent parishes, all armed with deadly clubs, it was computed that at least eight or nine hundred marched under order to the attack of Mr. Kitton's house; every window and door were instantly demolished and broken in (by means of the upper backs of gates, which were used as battering-rams) even to the cills and frames. The furniture of every description in the two front rooms and kitchen was broken into ten thousand pieces, piled up in the middle of the floor on the carpet, and by means of books &c. set light to; every inmate of the family had fled by the back of the house into the fields, Mr. Tilney only being left, he most fortunately having been put into a back room. By a happy stratagem the house and the whole of that side of the village were saved from conflagration. One of two better-disposed persons rushed up to these incendiaries, begging them for their lives to disperse, as the military were entering the parish; he with his companion then extinguished the fire. While this was going on, Mr. Hebgin's house was in like manner attacked; himself, though in bed, wounded, with Mrs. H. and infant, escaped over a back wall, and after being exposed in his own farm-yard for some time were at length privately conveyed to Dersingham Ling house. Mr. Nurse's house was also attacked, but partially. In consequence of a cry being set up to proceed into Bircham Tofts, a well disposed person hastened thither to apprise Mr. Howlett of their intention, in time to enable him and his family to leave; Mrs. H., together with five children, taken from their beds, were obliged to be concealed in the fields at the back of the house, while in a very short time this, as far as the exterior, was soon reduced to the same state of ruin. About noon on Tuesday the preventive men and military arrived, but the mischief was effected, and after a short time part of the former force was drawn off to Docking to be in future readiness, while the remainder staid on duty at Bircham.

The military withdrew to Houghton for accommodation for themselves and horses, requiring refreshment from the extraordinary fatigue which some must have undergone owing to the distance they had to come to the place of muster and scene of disturbance, and which reflects the highest possible credit and praise upon them for their alacrity. Most of the discontented requested permission of their employers yesterday afternoon to resume their work, which was granted, and this morning (Wednesday) all is quiet, and the troops are marched from their bivouac for dismissal.

This morning a troop of the 6th Dragoons, under the command of Capt. W. Moore, marched from the cavalry barracks in this city, on their route to Great Bircham, for the purpose of aiding the civil power and yeomanry in restoring and maintaining the public peace.

AGRICULTURAL DISTURBANCES IN SUSSEX.

(From the Mark Lane Express.)

In consequence of complaints received about three weeks back, by the Commissioners of Police, from the Earl of Chichester, Mr. Chambers, a county magistrate, and other extensive landholders in the eastern division of Sussex, stating that numerous wanton outrages were continually being committed, in the dead of the night, upon farming property, particularly in the destruction of sheep, when left in the pastures, the Commissioners sent down John Hall and Thomas Ryan, two intelligent and experienced policemen of the A division, with orders to remain so long as the magistrates there might require their services. The men have only just returned from this duty, and, in the course of performing it, had recourse to various disguises. Sometimes Hall appeared as a gentleman on a visit to the country; at others with the smock-frock and ordinary dress of a farming servant. Ryan for the most part was dressed as a sailor, and under these and other disguises they visited every part of the east division of Sussex. They first

proceeded to Stanmer, near Brighton, where Hall saw the Earl of Chichester, who, after giving a general account of the system of outrage that prevailed, referred him to Mr. Thomas, an active magistrate for the county, living at Railton House, near Eastbourne. Mr. Thomas swore in both Hall and Ryan as special constables for the eastern division of the county, and then dispatched them to make inquiries where outrages had been most recently perpetrated. The officers learnt that scarcely a night had passed previously to their being sent for, without some farmer in that part of the county finding one or more, but generally only one, of his sheep stuck through the neck, and left in the field to die a lingering death. It was evident that a rankling feeling of discontent, and a diabolical spirit of revenge, prevailed over a large portion of the peasantry. The object in almost every instance was merely to destroy, for scarcely ever was the carcass of the slaughtered sheep carried away. Two causes appear to have been in operation to produce this dreadful state of society,—the one the formation of labourers' unions at Rye, Eastbourne, and Winchelsea, the men belonging to which paid to the fund 2s. per week, and the main avowed object of their association was the compelling the farmers to advance the rate of pay to their day labourers, from 2s. to 2s. 6d. per day. This was firmly, and in the end, successfully resisted. The other cause was the general dissatisfaction of the labouring classes with the changes which the New Poor Law Bill had produced in the mode of granting parochial relief. The operation of the latter cause was strikingly exemplified by the fact that the majority of the night attacks was made on the property of those farmers who as guardians, churchwardens, or overseers, took an active part in the administration of the poor laws. Acting under the instructions received from Mr. Thomas, Hall first proceeded to the farm of Mr. John Pagden, a guardian of the poor, living near Willingdon, who he found had several sheep stuck and left to die. The manner in which they were stuck in the neck seemed to show the act had not been committed by a practised slaughterer, for it left the

poor animal to slowly bleed to death, it often living, or rather lingering, for twenty-four hours afterwards. At the farm of Mr. Henry Pagden, also a guardian of the poor, living at Frog Firle Farm, near Alfriston, an attempt had been made a short time previous to destroy the barn and stacks, to a part of which fire was set, but was happily discovered so early as to prevent any serious consequences. Several sheep had likewise been killed on this farm. Mr. Chambers, the magistrate, had also had much wanton damage done upon his farm. Several other cases were referred for the examination of the officers, but in all the cases the farms were of great extent, and as it was in the open downs and other outlying parts of the farms the mischief had been done, and that in the secrecy of the night, it was found impossible to obtain conclusive evidence, although various parties were apprehended on suspicion, and some, who could give no good account of their mode of life, held to bail, and in default of finding it, sent to prison; some few, on finding the stir making, disappeared. Under the directions of the magistrates, the officers, during their stay, succeeded in organizing an efficient local patrol force, which was readily formed by the farmers and their head servants, and had the effect of repressing further outrages. Its efficiency was proved by Hall himself being, while pursuing his nocturnal espionage, twice apprehended by parties of this rural patrol. While thus engaged, the officers were suddenly called off to a fire which broke out last Saturday week at Sutton, near Seaford. The fire broke out in the adjoining barns of Mr. Buckwill and Mr. Horne, about half past nine o'clock on the Saturday night. The evidence is most conclusive that it was the work of an incendiary, for it was proved to have broken out at three different places, and at each the irruption of flames was preceded by a loud explosion. It is evident a slow burning fusee must have been attached to the combustible material, so as to allow the perpetrator ample time to retire. The property destroyed consisted of 700 bushels of potatoes, two loads of wheat, and two pigs. The most diligent inquiry was made, but

unfortunately without any beneficial result. At Winchelsea the officers were called upon to examine the premises of Mr. Smith, upon whose life a most daring attempt was made. Mr. Smith is the most extensive farmer in that neighbourhood, and had resisted the attempt made by his labourers to obtain an advance from 2s. 3d. to 2s. 6d. per day, on which they all struck. A few nights after some gravel was thrown at his bedroom window, obviously with the intention of drawing him to it to see what was the matter, for immediately afterwards a gun was discharged at the window, the bullet from the barrel of which has lodged in the opposite wall, and there are besides the marks of upwards of 100 small shots. A reward of 400*l.* has been offered for the discovery of the authors of this diabolical attempt.

OLDHAM ELECTION.

NOMINATION.

Oldham, Friday July 3.

THIS borough is now the arena of a severe electioneering contest there being three candidates, each of them confident of success. Mr. Feargus O'Connor, who has been canvassing the electors upon Radical principles; Mr. John Lees, who expressed himself to be a Liberal Conservative; and Mr. John Cobbett, who states that he is of the same principles as his late father. A dispute has arisen between Mr. Cobbett and Mr. O'Connor, the former gentleman having accused the latter of forfeiting the pledge which he had made to Mr. Fielden, in London, that he would support Mr. Cobbett unconditionally. When Mr. Cobbett, in addressing the electors on Tuesday last, publicly made the accusation, Mr. O'Connor denied the truth of it, and a long correspondence has subsequently taken place between the parties upon the subject.

The nomination took place this morning, Mr. Jesse Ainsworth proposed Mr. O'Connor, as a fit and proper person to represent their interests in Parliament. As various slanders had been propagated detrimental to that gentleman's character, he deemed it necessary to set them

right relative to Mr. O'Connor's communications with Mr. Fielden. Mr. Ainsworth then read a placard which had been posted about the town, and from which it appeared that Mr. O'Connor had told Mr. Fielden, that if Mr. Cobbett stated his principles fully and satisfactorily to the people of Oldham, he certainly would not oppose him; but that if not he would certainly offer himself upon the Radical interest. Mr. Cobbett had not stated his principles—no one as yet knew what they were—and Mr. O'Connor had resolved to contest with him the representation of the borough.

Mr. J. Halliday briefly seconded the nomination.

Mr. W. Taylor, of Shaw, proposed Mr. John Cobbett, and Mr. Fitten seconded the nomination.

Mr. Joseph Jones came forward and proposed Mr. John F. Lees, and the nomination having been seconded by Mr. James Lees,

Mr. FEARGUS O'CONNOR then presented himself to the meeting, and was received with loud applause. He said he appeared before them with feelings of greater pleasure than he had felt at any previous meeting. With reference to what had been said of his having forfeited any pledge given to Mr. Fielden, he most strenuously denied it. He thanked his God he had made no pledge which he had not kept; for he had only promised Mr. Fielden that he would support Mr. Cobbett if his political sentiments were acceptable to the people of Oldham. They had met and passed a series of resolutions on Saturday last, and he now declared that if Mr. John Cobbett would now come forward and subscribe to those resolutions, he (Mr. O'Connor) would at once retire, and give him all the assistance in his power. (Cheers). Let him now come forward and say that he would advocate the measures approved of by the non-electors, for their opinions ought to be consulted, and he would at once retire from the contest. It was said that he (Mr. O'Connor) went too far. This was said to alarm the timid, and to intimidate the wavering. But who was likely to obtain good measures, the man who went too far, or the timid Tory? He advocated

annual Parliaments because he thought the master ought to have the opportunity of calling his steward to render an account of his stewardship. He was for the ballot, because every voter ought to be protected in the exercise of his opinions, and the ballot was adopted even by the Tories in their clubs. As to the separation of Church and State, he would not interfere with the spiritual part of the church, or try to pull the building down; he would leave the churches standing, but take away the endowments, and let the people work out the great principle laid down by their divine Master, that "every labourer was worthy of his hire."

Mr. COBBETT next addressed the electors, and was received in silence. He said that whatever claims he might have upon their attention from their remembrance of the talents of his father, he would assure them that, leaving that question quite out of consideration, he had been educated as a Radical reformer. He concurred in many of the pledges which his opponent had given, but some of them he considered wild and extravagant. For instance, the election of the judges by the bar. How that might work in Ireland he knew not, but he knew enough of the English bar to say that there would be none but the rankest Tories on the bench, as the English bar were Tories in the proportion of seven to five. He next proceeded to condemn the order in council, for suspending the Foreign Enlistment Bill, in favour of the Queen of Spain, and said it was disgraceful to the country that such a transaction should have taken place. He was an advocate for the equitable adjustment of the national debt, but he used the word "equitable" in its strictest literal sense. With respect to church property, that portion of it in the hands of the clergy was held by them as trustees for the people, and therefore, was public property; but with respect to tithes they had become a marketable property, and those who might be deprived of them ought to have compensation. He was friendly to annual Parliaments, universal suffrage, the abolition of church-rates, and the granting of a charter to the London University.

Mr. HALLIDAY then put some questions to Mr. Cobbett, first in reference to annual Parliaments and universal suffrage. The next question was whether Mr. Cobbett would make a motion and support it for the abolition of tithes.

Mr. COBBETT: He would first inquire what it would cost the country to make compensation. If he found it add to the people's burdens he would never support such a motion.

Mr. HALLIDAY: Will Mr. Cobbett make a motion, and support it, to relieve the bishops from their attendance in the House of Lords?

Mr. COBBETT: I never will.—(Disapprobation.)

Mr. T. F. LEES next addressed the meeting. He felt the honour of the situation in which he stood as a candidate for the representation of his native town. He did not come before them as a stranger with specious protestations, but was well known to them. He had been reared amongst them, and many whose faces he saw had watched his growth from childhood to manhood. He came before them on the principles of a Liberal Conservative, but he hoped they would not be carried away with the idea that he was a bigot, who would rather see the constitution sink into decay than lend a helping hand to preserve it. (Cheers). He admitted that no human institution is perfect, and if they did him the honour to place him at the head of the poll, he would do his utmost to remove those blemishes which had crept into the institutions of this country, and which had a tendency to weaken and destroy the constitution which had raised old England to the pre-eminent situation she holds in the theatre of the world. (Cheers). If they returned him, during the session he would be ever at his station, and when it was over come among them to give an account of his stewardship.—(Upon his concluding the meeting gave him three cheers).

In order to prevent the return of a Tory, in consequence of this disunion, it was proposed by Mr. John Knight (who was imprisoned with Hunt for the Manchester transaction), that persons from the two committees should conjointly canvas the

electors, and that candidate who had the fewer number of votes should resign in favour of the other. This proposition was acceded to by Mr. O'Connor's committee, but rejected by Mr. Cobbett's. Mr. O'Connor has the support of the Dissenters. The polling is fixed for Monday and Tuesday.

(From the Morning Chronicle.)

MONDAY, July 6 —The polling commenced this morning. Mr. Feargus O'Connor, at an early period of the day, finding that he could not ensure success, resigned his pretensions, with the hope that those voters who had pledged themselves to him would unite to exclude the Tory, who is, however, at the head of the poll. Mr. Cobbett does not seem to be very popular among the electors. A great source of dissatisfaction has arisen, owing to Mr. Fielden's attempting to make Oldham his own borough and foisting his nominee upon them. I send you an additional statement made by Mr. O'Connor, respecting Mr. Fielden's conduct to him. It has created a strong sensation here, and Mr. Fielden will be called upon to resign.

I have already, in a hand-bill, under the head of "Slander Refuted" exposed the conduct of Mr. Fielden, Member for Oldham, as regards the present contest for that borough, and shall now proceed to state the facts which have since come to my knowledge:—On Friday, the 19. of June, when I called upon Mr. Fielden, I asked him if he thought any of Mr. Cobbett's sons would start? His reply was, Not they, indeed: and yet he had actually written to some of the liberal committees a letter, which reached Oldham on Saturday, recommending Mr. John Cobbett. This is the Mr. Fielden, who would not interfere. Again, a Mr. Harwar, a most respectable gentleman residing in the neighbourhood of Oldham, followed me to Mr. Fielden's, and thence to the *True Sun* Office, for the purpose of inviting me to stand for Oldham. Mr. Fielden affected perfect ignorance of all matters connected with the election. He told Mr. Harwar that he would not in any

way interfere; yet will the public believe that Mr. Fielden then gave a letter to Mr. Harwar to be handed to Dr. Earnshaw? This letter the Doctor read to Mr. Harwar, and it contained a strong recommendation of Mr. John Cobbett as a fit representative for Oldham. Mr. Fielden advised me not to go to Oldham until I had been invited, and what was the mode he adopted to procure this invitation? He gave me two franks to persons with whom he was actually in communication for the return of Mr. Cobbett, not very likely persons to seek my presence. Mr. Fielden said he would not interfere, and yet Mr. Cobbett stated on the hustings that Mr. Fielden wished to come down with him, and on his behalf. Mr. Fielden requested upon parting, after each interview, that I would not leave town for Oldham without seeing him. Mr. Fielden *was secretly in communication with a party in Oldham for the return of Mr. John Cobbett, previously to the death of the late Mr. Cobbett.* Mr. Fielden told me that the electors would not support any candidate who went down uninvited. He used all his influence to keep all candidates out of the field. Mr. Fielden assured me that John Cobbett was a Radical, but if he is I know not what a Radical means. Had I not arrived, Mr. Ashton Yates would have been supported by the Radicals against Mr. Cobbett. Had not Mr. Fielden improperly interfered with me, I should have been returned for Oldham without a contest. As to my addressing the electors, I told Mr. Fielden that I should remain in Manchester to have an address printed which I would paste upon the chaise. In conclusion, Mr. Fielden's conduct all through has been cunning and deceitful. He has lost all his popularity here, and I will venture to assert that he never will represent Oldham after this Parliament. Mr. Cobbett's pledge did not satisfy his own party, yet this was the man that Mr. Fielden wished to walk in for Oldham.

This is a true and correct statement: let Mr. Fielden deny one word of it if he can. There are many other rumours afloat, which Mr. Fielden will be called upon to explain.

(Signed) FEARGUS O'CONNOR.

At eleven o'clock, when Mr. O'Connor resigned, the numbers were

Lees	98
Cobbett	44
O'Connor	32

The state of the poll at the close (first day) was

Lees	314
Cobbett	304
Majority for Lees..	— 10

OLDHAM, July 7.—The Radical borough of Oldham is now represented by a Tory (Mr. Lees), having been returned by a majority of 15. Many parties lay all the blame of this result on Mr. Fielden; and state that, in consequence of his endeavouring to impose Mr. Cobbett on the electors, several of the Radical voters supported Mr. Lees, rather than vote for a man whose political principles they could not understand. Upwards of 200 voters, who would have supported Mr. O'Connor if he had resolved upon standing the contest, are stated to have abstained from taking any part in the election.

At the final close of the poll the numbers were:

Lees	397
Cobbett	382
Majority for Lees..	— 15

There is another statement, in which the numbers are:

Lees	394
Cobbett	383
Majority for Lees..	— 11

WILLIAM COBBETT.

(From the *Dumfries Courier*.)

THE world and all its concerns have closed on William Cobbett. On Thursday last, this extraordinary man departed this life at his farm in Surrey, at the age of 73, and with a composure and sweet serenity which contrasts strikingly with the stirring and even boisterous events in which his lengthened existence has been spent. For some time past the great author of the *Register* had been suffering from a tendency to inflammation in the throat, and it will be recollected that physical defects

alone prevented him uttering his sentiments in the House in May last, on the motion for the repeal of the Malt Tax. Since then, Mr. Cobbett has been gradually declining; of this his immediate friends were aware, but the invalid himself bore vigorously up in spirit, and, so far from contemplating an early dissolution, expressed himself as confident of possessing strength for the work of good ten years to come! But it was ruled otherwise. Of some of the mighty spirits who have passed away, it has been painfully remarked, that the "stage was darkened ere the curtain fell"; not so in the case of William Cobbett. The majesty of mind remained unimpaired, unfaded, till the grave claimed that mental tenement as its own; and in the *Register* published only fourteen days since, that same vigour of intellect, and freshness of imagination, is apparent which characterized the mind of its author in the noon-day and pride of his existence; the ore retained its virgin brightness and intrinsic costliness to the latest.

To attempt even a summary of the actions of William Cobbett's life, were vain on the part of the journalist. Looking at all that he has written, all that he has said, and all that he has done, we find his like in no man's parallel; and with every justice may be reckoned, in the field of political literature, what Napoleon himself was in the cabinet or field of arms. During almost half a century he retained this ascendancy; and retained it amid the change of men, the revolution of political sentiments, and the crash of nations; and, through all the noisy strife of the stirring era in which he lived, even to the last was his voice heard, and with attention. Cobbett commenced life as an enthusiastic supporter of Mr. Pitt and his principles, and a reviler of the cause for which Muir and Palmer suffered, and of which he himself was afterwards the ardent promoter, and the sturdy right-hand man. We are not apologists for political tergiversation; but those who attempt to show up in a moral pillory the inconsistency or dishonesty of the Member for Oldham, may, in charity, recollect that his early writings against the liberal cause were drawn forth in a period of unparal-

leled excitement; and that he afterwards lived to make ample amends for his crusade against the infant efforts of the Reformers; and if he erred in this, he did so in company with the majority of the people, who were not yet ripe for the great *movement* which our own day has seen and produced. But departure from early principles has not been considered to brand the character of some men, to whom has been accounted a much loftier political status than that sometimes accounted to William Cobbett; and we may also recollect that of this class were Pitt, Canning, Huskisson, and others, who entered public life with different ideas, assumed or real, than those with which they left it; and so closely at one period did the Republican tunic fit them, that in their latter days it might still be seen peeping from beneath the ample toga meant to cover it. Yet, though the most lengthened period of Mr. Cobbett's political career was devoted to the liberal cause, it would be folly to say that he belonged to any party, or section of it; his political creed was not attached to any class of men or measures, and during the last twenty years, we have seen him hostile or friendly, as his opinion, or it might be, his ruling crotchet, led him, to the pet schemes of all shades of statesmen. His was a creed, in fact, based on the broad principle of freedom, but independent of the theories of all other men in the furtherance of them. The "first hand" in the political game, which the author of the *Register* played, led him into many cases of personal collision with the public men of his time; and nowhere is the littleness of an otherwise great man apparent, than when we find him sporting the vilest Billingsgate with "the Irish mountebank" and others; but after the grave has closed on him it would be mean, unkind, to rake up those failings and exceptions which are inseparable from all humanity. No man, however, can say that talents ever became a marketable article, or opinion inclined as Mammon directed, while in the possession of William Cobbett. Imprisonment, fine, estrangement from a family he doated on, and self-expatriation, speak the truth of this averment. No rich man's frown,

or mean one's truckling, terrified him from his purpose in the one case, or swayed him from it in the other. Verily, he acted on the principle, "My mind to me my kingdom is"; and now, when he is gathered to his fathers, we shall not perhaps lapse into folly when we observe, that it may be said of him as was spoken by the Regent Morton over the body of our venerated and uncompromising Reformer, John Knox: "There lies he, who never feared the face of man."

But nearly sixty years of an active life have not all been spent in the political arena; and though in this latter capacity the subject of our notice has been most prominently before the world's eye, still it is in a different and more chastened light that we see reason to estimate his character. As a spirited and enterprising farmer, horticulturist, arboriculturist, and feeder of cattle, pigs, and sheep, as unwearied in his endeavours to extract the utmost from the scope which Providence has blessed us with, and as setting an example of growing two ears of corn where only one came up before, we see much to admire in the actions of William Cobbett. And be it understood, too, that by his invention and encouragement of a novel species of manufacture, straw-plait, he has been the means of carrying resources unknown before, to the primitive and innocent people of Orkney and Shetland, situated, it may be said,

"Where breaks the long wave that at the Pole began."

But above all, Mr. Cobbett's writings on rural, educational, and moral subjects, contain the essence of standard worth, which will live when papers that have made no little stir in the political world shall have passed away. His *Cottage Economy* is a gem of itself, and it would be vain on our part to estimate the good of which it has been productive among the lees of the English labouring population; his "Rural Rides" are so full of charming incident, and description of the glorious garniture of nature in her sweetest clothing, that we imagine the very leaves of the book have a freshened and summer-breathing perfume; his Gram-

mars of the English and French tongues, though perhaps not workable in large classes of students, out of sight the best for those who studied as he himself studied, and as most of the greatest men of our times have done, that is in penury and without a teacher. And who that has read Cobbett's *Advice to Young Men* can fail to see and appreciate the beauty and justness of precepts which are calculated to make the enjoyment of this world chaster to the reader, and raise his moral status and happiness as a man, a husband, a father, a friend, and a citizen? But this work does not abound in mere precept or direction; every single page is rich enough to suffice an hour's reflection; and it contains beyond this the most remarkable and romantic tale of ardent and honourable love, chequered by not a few showers, and the interest of the tale is not lessened when we know that it is one of real life, and that the hero is the author of the work. All of these works are written with a clear, and we may say, a winning style, and carry a stamp of originality which is peculiar to this extraordinary man alone; a style which no doubt prompted the critical Hazlitt to say of him, "Cobbett might be said to have the clearness of Swift, the naturalness of Defoe, and the picturesque satirical description of Mandeville." There is yet another light in which we may view the character of Mr. Cobbett; and this is no doubt the most important of the whole, so far as it serves for an example which may be followed by all with infinite gain, and by adopting his course of life can no one be a loser—that is his unvarying career of perseverance and industry. He himself has ably shown us that there is something more than talent requisite to constitute a great man; and all the genius conceded to him by his most ardent admirers would never have raised him from the lowly situation of a cow-boy to be representative of Oldham without the most unceasing industry. The following passage in his introduction to the *Advice to Young Men* may be quoted with authority, in so far as it bears the impress of truth, and has not at least been contradicted, though such contradiction would

have ensued had there been the slightest grounds:

"Thrown," says he "(by my own will, indeed), on the wide world at a very early age, not more than eleven or twelve years, without money to support, without friends to advise, and without book-learning to assist me: passing a few years dependant solely on my own labour for subsistence; then becoming a common soldier and leading a military life, chiefly in foreign parts, for eight years; quitting that life after really, for me, high promotion, and with, for me, a large sum of money; marrying at an early age; going at once to France to acquire the French language, thence to America; passing eight years there, becoming bookseller and author, and taking a prominent part in all the important discussions of the interesting period from 1793 to 1799, during which there was in that country a continued struggle carried on between the English and the French parties: returning to England in 1800, resuming my labours here, suffering, during twenty-nine years, two years of imprisonment, heavy fines, three years' self-banishment to the other side of the Atlantic, and a total breaking of fortune, so as to be left without a bed to lie on; and, during these twenty-nine years of troubles and of punishments, writing and publishing, every week of my life, whether in exile or not, eleven weeks only excepted, a periodical paper, containing more or less of matter worthy of public attention; writing and publishing, during the same twenty-nine years, thirty volumes on various, useful, and popular subjects. Yet mere *genius* did not acquire this for me. There must be something more than genius: there must be industry; there must be perseverance; there must be, before the eyes of the nation, proofs of extraordinary exertion; people must say to themselves, 'What wise conduct must there have been in the employment of the time of this man! How sober, how sparing in diet, how early a riser, how little expensive he must have been!' These are the things, and not *genius*, which have caused my labours to be so incessant and so successful.

It will be unnecessary to pursue this

hasty sketch farther. Cobbett entered Parliament at a period of life too advanced to make a figure in the House; and though he made a few hits, his constitution, and previous habits of regularity, jarred with the killing hours, and practice of turning night into day, which has obtained as a custom in the "Collective Wisdom."

From a personal opportunity of seeing Cobbett in Dumfries in November, 1832, we should say that in early life he must have presented a beautiful specimen of robust and sinewed manhood; and even then he was the *beau ideal* of a healthy and contented farmer, lapsed but a little into the sear and yellow leaf of life. His proportions were handsome—stature, six feet; and his face presented so much of a ruddy good-natured hue, that we might have supposed he made use of a moderate tippie of his own October, but for his known temperance, and the boast, that he was, perhaps, the only man who ever entered Scotland and came out of it without tasting either spirits, wine, cider, or ale. His language was quite divested of provincialism, and his intonation clear and harmonious. Peace, then, to the manes of a man, who will be remembered, when some who have attained the pinnacle of this world's greatness

"Will be forgotten as fools, or remembered as worse."

TO THE

INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES,

On the Causes of the present Poverty and Misery.

London, 9. Feb. 1820.

Beloved Countrymen and Countrywomen,

THE picture which our country exhibits, at this moment, while it sinks our own hearts within us, fills the whole civilized world with wonder and amazement. This country has been famed, in all ages, not only for its freedom and for the security its laws gave to person and property, but for the happiness of its people; for the comfort they enjoyed; for the neatness and goodness of their dress; the

good quality and the abundance of their household furniture, bedding and utensils; and for the excellence and plenty of their food. So that a Lord Chancellor, who, four hundred years ago, wrote a book on our laws, observes in that book, that, owing to these good laws and the security and freedom they gave, the English people possessed, in abundance, "*all things that conduce to make life easy and happy.*"

This was the state of our great grandfathers and great grandmothers, who little thought of what was to befall their descendants! The very *name* of England was pronounced throughout the world with respect. That very *name* was thought to mean high-spirit, impartial justice, freedom and happiness. What does it mean *now*? It means that which I have not the power to describe, nor the heart to describe, if I had the power. England now contains the most miserable people that ever trod the earth. It is the seat of greater human suffering, of more pain of body and of mind, than was ever before heard of in the world. In countries which have been deemed the most wretched, there never has existed wretchedness equal to that which is now exhibited in this once flourishing, free, and happy country.

In this country the *law* provides, that no human being shall suffer from want of food, lodging, or raiment. Our forefathers, when they gave security to property, when they made laws to give to the *rich* the safe enjoyment of their wealth, did not forget that there must always be some *poor*, and that God wished that the poor should not perish for want, they being entitled to an existence as well as the rich. Therefore the *law* said, and it still says, that to make a *sure and certain provision for the poor*, is required by the first principles of civil society. He who is rich to-day may be poor to-morrow; and he is not to starve because he is become unfortunate.

Upon this principle of common humanity and of natural justice the *Poor Laws* were founded; and those laws give to every one a *right*, a *legal* as well as an equitable right, to be maintained out of the real property of the country, if, from

whatever cause, *unable* to obtain a maintenance through his or her own exertions. To receive parish-relief is no *favour* ! It is no gift that the relieved person receives ; it is what the *law* insures him ; and what he cannot be refused without a breach of the law, and without an outrageous act of injustice and oppression.

Such being the law ; that is, the law having taken care that relief shall always be at hand for the destitute, the law has forbidden *begging*. It has pointed out to every destitute person the place where he can obtain legal and effectual relief, and therefore it has said, "you shall not *beg*. If you *beg*, you shall be punished." And, as we well know, punishment is frequently inflicted for begging.

But what do we see before our eyes at this moment ? We see, all over the kingdom, misery existing to such an extent, that the poor-laws are found insufficient, and that a system of *general beggary* is introduced, under the name of subscriptions, voluntary contributions, soup shops, and the like ; and in the metropolis, where our eyes are dazzled with the splendour of those who live on the taxes, we see that a society has been formed for raising money to provide a receptacle for the *houseless* poor during the night ; that is to say, to give a few hours shelter to wretched beings, who must otherwise lie down and die in the very streets ! To-day we read of a poor man expiring on his removal from one country parish to another. To-morrow we read of a poor woman, driven back from the door of one poor-house in London, carried back to expire in another poor-house before the morning. The next day we read of a man found dead in the street, and nearly a skeleton. While we daily see men harnessed, and drawing carts loaded with gravel to repair the highways !

Is this *England* ! Can this be *England* ! and can these wretched and miserable and degraded objects be *Englishmen* ! Yes : this is England ; with grief, shame, and indignation we must confess it : but still we must confess that such is now once free and happy England ! That same country that was, until of late years, famed throughout the world for all that

was great, good, and amiable and enviable.

This change never can have taken place without a *cause*. There must have been something, and something done *by man* too, to produce this change, this disgraceful, this distressing, this horrible change. God has not afflicted the country with pestilence or with famine ; nor has the land been invaded and ravaged by an enemy. Providence has of late been more than ordinarily benevolent to us. Three successive *harvests* of uncommon abundance have blessed, or would have blessed, these islands. *Peace* has been undisturbed. War appears not to have been even thought possible. The sounds of warlike glory have, even yet, hardly ceased to vibrate on our ears. And yet, in the midst of profound peace and abundant harvests the nation seems to be convulsed with the last struggles of gnawing hunger.

It is *man*, therefore, and not a *benevolent Creator*, who has been the cause of our sufferings, present and past, and of the more horrid sufferings, which we now but reasonably anticipate. To *man*, therefore, must we look for an *account* for these evils, into the cause of which let us, without any want of charity, but, at the same time, without fear and without self-deception, freely inquire.

My good, honest, kind and industrious country-people, you have long been deceived by artful and intriguing and interested men, who have a *press* at their command, and who, out of taxes raised from your labour, have persuaded you, that your sufferings arise from nothing that *man* can cause or can cure. But, have only a little patience with me, and, I think, that I am able to convince you, that your sufferings and your degradation have arisen from the *weight of taxes imposed on you*, and from no other cause whatever.

When you consider, that your salt, pepper, soap, candles, sugar, tea, beer, shoes, and all other things are taxed, you must see, that you *pay taxes* yourselves ; and, when you consider, that the taxes paid by your richer neighbours disable them from paying you so much in wages as they would otherwise pay you, you must

perceive, that taxes are *disadvantageous* to you. In short, it is a fact, that no man can deny, that the poverty and misery of the people have gone on increasing precisely in the same degree that the taxes have gone on increasing.

The tax on salt is *fifteen shillings* a bushel. Its cost at the sea-side, where a kind Providence throws it abundantly on our shores, is *one shilling*. Owing to the delays and embarrassments arising from the tax, the price comes, at last, to *twenty shillings*! Thus, a bushel of salt, which is about as much as a middling family uses in a year (in all sorts of ways), costs to that family, *eighteen shillings*, at least, *in tax*!—Now, if an industrious man's family had the 18s. in pocket, instead of paying them in tax, would not that family be the *better* for the change? If, instead of paying 6d. for a pot of beer, (if beer a man must have) he had to pay 2d., would not he be 4d. the richer? And, if the taxes were light instead of heavy, would not your wages and profits enable you to live better and dress better than you do now?

They, who have good health, good luck and small families, make a shift to go along with this load of taxes. Others bend under it. Others come down to poverty. And a great part of these are pressed to the very earth, some ending their days in poor-houses, and others perishing from actual want. The farmers are daily falling into ruin; the little farmers fall first; the big ones become little, and the little ones become paupers, unless they escape from the country, while they have money enough to carry them away. Thousands of men of some property are, at this moment, preparing to quit the country. The *poor* cannot go; so that things, without a great change, will be worse and worse for all that remain, except for those who live upon the taxes.

And how are these taxes *disposed of*? We are told by impudent men, who live on these taxes, that *we*, the payers of the taxes, are become *too learned*; that we have been brought *too near* to the Government; that is to say, that we have got a *peep behind the curtain*. It is well known, that a great deal has been said about *educating* the poor. At one

time, even the *poverty* was ascribed to a *want of education* amongst the labouring classes.—They were *so ignorant*! and that was the cause of their misery.—And poor Mr. WHITBREAD said, that the *Scotch* were better than the English, only because they were *better educated*. But now, behold, we are *too well educated*: we are *too knowing*; we have approached *too near* to the Government; and, therefore, *new laws* have been passed to keep us at a greater distance; a *more respectful* distance.

This precaution comes, however, too late. We have had our look behind the curtain. We cannot be again deluded. We cannot be made to *unknow* that which we know. We know that the fruit of our labour is *mortgaged* to those who have lent money to the Government. We know, that to pay the interest of this mortgage; to pay a standing army in time of peace; to pay the tax-gatherers; and to pay placemen and pensioners, we are so heavily taxed, that we can no longer live in comfort, and that many of us are wholly destitute of food, and are brought to our deaths by hunger.

Endeavours have been made to persuade us that we are not hurt by the taxes. It has been said, that taxes *come back* to us, and are a *great blessing* to us. And Mr. Justice Bailey has lately taken occasion to say from *the Bench*, that a *national debt* is a good thing, and even a *necessary* thing. England did pretty well without a debt for *seven hundred years*! How this matter came to be talked of *from the Bench* I do not pretend to know; but, for my part, I look upon a national debt as the greatest curse that ever afflicted a people. In our country it has made a happy people miserable, and a free people slaves. And, I am convinced that, unless that debt be *got rid of*, in some way or other, and that, too, in a short time, this country will fall so low, that a century will not see it revive.

Those who wish to make us believe, that it is not the taxes that make us poor and miserable, tell us that they *come back* to us. This being a grand source of delusion, I will endeavour to explain the matter to you. I have before done it

many times; but, all eyes are not opened at the first operation; and, besides, there are, every month, some young persons who are beginning to read about such things.

BURKE, of whom many of you never heard, said that *taxes* were *dews*, drawn up by the *blessed sun of Government*, and sent down again upon the people in refreshing and fructifying *showers*. This was a very pretty description, but very false. For taxes, though they fall in *heavy showers* upon one part of the community never return to another part of it. To those who *live on taxes*, the taxes are, indeed, refreshing and fructifying showers; but to those who *pay them*, they are a scorching sun and blighting wind. They draw away the riches of the soil, and they render it sterile and unproductive. But, how came this BURKE to talk in this way? Why, he was one of those *who lived upon the taxes*! Very fine and refreshing and fertilizing showers fell upon him. He had a pension of *three thousand pounds a year for his life*; his wife *fifteen hundred pounds a year for her life*; and, besides these, he obtained, in 1795, grants of money to be paid yearly to his executors *after his death*! And not a trifle neither; for he took care to get thus settled upon his *executors two thousand five hundred pounds a year*. The following is a copy of the grant:

"To the executors of *Edmund Burke*
 "2,500*l.* a year. Granted by two
 "patents, dated 24. October, 1795.
 "One for 1,160*l.* a year, to be paid
 "during the life of Lord Royston,
 "and the Rev. and Hon. Auchild
 "Grey. The other for 1,340*l.* to
 "be paid during the life of the
 "Princess Amelia, Lord Althorp,
 "and William Cavendish, Esq."

Now, as Mr. GREY is still alive, and as Lord Althorp and Mr. Cavendish are alive, the money is all of it still paid to the executors of BURKE; these executors have already received, on this account, *more than fifty thousand pounds* in principal money; and, as there is no probability of the death of the gentlemen above-named, they may yet receive double the sum. BURKE's pension, while he

was alive, cost the nation about *twenty thousand pounds*; and his wife's about *four thousand pounds*. So that here are about *seventy-four thousand pounds* already paid by the public on account of this one man, and that, too, in *principal money*, without reckoning *interest*!

This, you will allow, must have been to Burke, his wife and executors, an exceedingly *refreshing and fructifying shower*! But, not so to those, who have had to *pay* this money. It has not tended to *refresh* us. In the space of twenty-seven years *seventy-four thousand pounds* have been taken from us, who pay the taxes on account of this *one man*. Now, suppose a different mode from the present were used in making us pay taxes. The pensions have, for the last twenty-seven years, amounted to 2,740 pounds a-year. Suppose the amount of them to have been raised upon *fifty tradesmen*, at 54*l.* a year each. Would not each of these tradesmen be now 2,700 pounds *poorer* than they would have been, if they had not had these "*refreshing showers*" to send off in *dews*? Suppose them to be raised upon 400 labourers at about 10*l.* each. Must not these 400 labourers be made poor and miserable, must they not be prevented from *saving* a penny; and must they not, at last, be brought to the poor-house by these "*refreshing showers*"? Is not this as plain as the nose upon your face? Is it not plain that this pension to the executors of this man now takes away the means of comfortable living from nearly *four hundred labourers families*? Has not this been going on for twenty-seven years; and has one single man, in Parliament, made even an effort to put a stop to it? Has one single man moved even for an *inquiry* into the matter? And yet, the facts are all before the Parliament in their own printed reports!

And what *services* did this BURKE render the country? For, to give such a man such enormous sums, there must have been *some reason*. His services were these: He *deserted his party in the opposition*: and he wrote *three pamphlets* to urge the nation on to war, and to cause it to persevere in the war against the republicans of France!

Which war raised the annual taxes from sixteen millions a-year in time of peace, to *fifty-three* millions a-year in time of peace, and the poor-rates from *two millions* a-year to about *twelve millions* a-year ! These were the *services*, which were so great, that it was not sufficient to give him *three thousand* pounds a-year for them during his *life-time*, but we must still pay his executors *two thousand five hundred* pounds a-year ; and may have to pay them this for *fifty years* yet to come !

Need we wonder that we are poor ? Need we wonder that we are miserable ? Need we wonder that we have, at last, come to see Englishmen *harnessed* and drawing carts, loaded with gravel ? And, if we complain of these things, are we to be told that we are *seditionous* ? Are we to be told that we wish to *destroy* the constitution ? Are we to be *imprisoned*, *finned*, and *banished* ?

When we take a view of the effects of *taxation*, our wonder at all we see instantly ceases. We look no further for the cause of our misery. And, is there any one who proposes to *lighten the load* ? Not a man. On the contrary, every measure has a tendency to make it heavier and heavier. The act, passed last session, respecting the payment in gold bars has produced double the quantity of misery that before existed. It has diminished the quantity of paper-money, and, in the same proportion, has added to the weight of the taxes and to the want of employment for artizans, manufacturers, and labourers. Let me explain to you how this effect is produced ; for it is fit that you all clearly understand what is the cause of your misery.

When money, whether it be *paper* or *gold*, is abundant, every thing is *high in price*. Now suppose there to be a community of only ten men, who have a given number of dealings amongst them in a year, and who move from hand to hand a certain quantity of valuable things.

Suppose one of them to be a farmer, and that he has to sell wheat to the rest, and suppose his wheat to sell for 10s. a bushel. We will suppose, next that the quantity of money, possessed by the whole community to be six hundred

pounds. Every one has his due proportion according to his property. Now suppose, that by some accident or other, every man, just at the same moment, loses one half of his money. The effect of this would be, that every one could give for the things that he would want of every other one, only just *half as much* as he gave before ; and, of course, the farmer must sell his wheat for 5s. a bushel. The shoemaker must sell his shoes at 5s. a pair instead of 10s. and so on.

This change would produce injury to no one ; because a pair of shoes would still bring a bushel of wheat. There would be less money ; but money is merely a thing to be used as a measure of the value of useful things. This little community would still have a just measure of value ; and, though prices would fall one-half, no soul would suffer from the change. But suppose the shoemaker to have *owed* the farmer *fifty shillings* before the change took place. The shoemaker would lose greatly by the change ; but the farmer would (if he were a yeomanryman, at least) call upon poor Crispin to pay him ; and Crispin must give him *ten* pair of shoes (or the price of ten pair) instead of *five*. So that, in fact, Crispin's debt, though still only *fifty shillings* in name, would, by the diminution in the whole quantity of money, be *doubled*.

This is *our* case precisely ! The fundholders, the army, the navy, the placemen, the pensioners, lent their money to the Government, took places and pensions under the Government, and, in fact, made the nation their *debtor* for *so much a year*. But, now that the quantity of the money is reduced in such a way as to bring down prices nearly one-half, the nation has to pay them all to the full nominal amount ; which, though it be still called by the same name, is, in fact, nearly *double* what it was before the quantity of money was reduced. Each of you has *fifteen shillings* tax to pay on a bushel of salt ; and so you had before : but, as fifteen shillings will now purchase *twice* as much of your labour as they would purchase before, your salt tax is in fact *doubled*.

Thus it is as to the whole nation. It

has about *thirty millions a year* to pay to the fundholders, but *now*, the thirty are equal to what *sixty* would have been when the money was borrowed. Suppose a fundholder to have lent the Government a *hundred pounds* twelve years ago, and suppose that he was to receive five per cent. for it. Suppose a farmer had been to pay the interest in wheat. *Six bushels and two-thirds* would have paid the five pounds. But *now*, it would require *thirteen bushels and a third* to pay the five pounds. Thus it is that the fundholders, and all who are paid out of the taxes, *gain*, and those who pay the taxes *lose*, by a diminution in the quantity of money. And this adds greatly to the evils which naturally arise out of the heavy taxes. And thus it is that a nation is *scourged*, not by God, but by those works of man, a national debt and a paper-money.

But, you will say, *how* can the Bank lessen the quantity of money, and ruin the people thus by doubling the real amount of debts and salaries and pensions and other incomes of those who live on taxes? I will tell you how. The Bank can make as much paper-money as it pleases. The cost of it is merely the paper and the print. There are always *borrowers* enough. Now I want to borrow. I go to the Bank and give them a note for a hundred pounds, which I promise to pay them again in two months. They take my note, and give me the hundred pounds in their *paper-money*, taking the two months' interest out. This interest is called *discount*, and this is called *discounting* a note. The Bank can discount as much or as little as it pleases. When I bring my hundred pounds, and take the note out of pawn, I may get another note discounted if the Bank choose; and in this way the paper-money gets about. But if the Bank have a mind to cause the quantity of money in the country to *grow less*, it *refuses to discount*, or it discounts *less* than it did. Suppose the Bank have ten hundred notes and have lent out *paper-money* upon them; and suppose, when the paper-money is brought in to pay off the notes with, the Bank will lend out paper again for only five hundred of the notes. In this case the paper-money in circulation is diminished *one-half*; and

of course *prices fall*, and, as we have seen, *taxes rise* in real amount.

This is what has been now done; and what is more, it has been done with a professed desire to *remove the evils* that afflict the country! The pay of the placemen, pensioners, fundholders, soldiers, and of all those who live on the taxes, has thus been augmented; and by the same means those who pay the taxes have been ruined. The labouring classes, in all such cases, suffer most severely; but when they are quite down, they can fall no lower. They fall into the ranks of the paupers, and there they remain. There is another class, however, who will endeavour to save themselves: I mean those who have, as yet, *some property left*. They will flee from the dismal and desolating plague. They will carry their creative industry and their capital with them, and will thus leave the burden greater for those whose timidity makes them remain behind. Thousands are preparing to go to America. And, unless something be *speedily* done to relieve us, they act wisely. It is, on an average, only *a month at sea*. The danger is nothing. And when a man reflects that he has left the tax-gatherer behind him, and can now set him at defiance, what are dangers of the sea, or any other dangers? One would escape out of England, and even out of the world, to avoid the sight of men *harnessed* and *drawing carts*, loaded with gravel for the repair of the highways.

No man, you will observe, proposes to do any thing that has a tendency to relieve our distress. The very measure for diminishing the quantity of paper-money is only *beginning* to operate. It has not yet produced a tenth part of the evils that it is calculated to produce, and that it will produce, if persevered in. The labouring classes, I mean those who have no property in anything but their labour, cannot fall much lower. Hundreds die for want of a sufficiency of food; but *hundreds of thousands will not*. And, as they have not the means of going to America, they will remain, and will *live* somehow or other; for, as to being transported to Canada or the Cape of Good Hope, they neither will nor can.

The means of restoration are, however, *easy*. The affairs of the nation *might* be retrieved, and that, too, in a short space of time; and, if I am asked, *why I do not suggest those easy means*, my answer is, that I have done all that a private individual could do to *prevent the evils*; for all my efforts I have, except by the people, been repaid in abuse and persecution; and that, therefore, in the capacity of a *writer*, I will suggest nothing in the way of remedy. My former efforts have been treated with scorn, and now let the scorners extricate themselves. If I were in *Parliament*, I would point out the means. Not being there I will point out none. Those who have property at stake have, *even now*, the means of putting me there. If they do, my opinion is, that measures of salvation will be adopted; if they do not, I am of opinion that no such measures will even be *proposed*. In either case I shall have the satisfaction to reflect, that I have done my duty; and whether the country be doomed to anarchy or despotism I am as able to bear the scourge as another.

Amongst our duties are the duties which we owe ourselves: and, amongst those duties is that of not suffering ourselves to be degraded. And, for my part, I should deem it degradation to the last degree to be an *underworker* of such men as those, who have brought this once free and happy nation into its present state. An endeavour to serve the country in this way would, too, be wholly unavailing. It would only tend to amuse and deceive. And, therefore, I will never attempt it. I will hear the schemes of others. If they adopt anything that I have already laid down, I will claim it as my own. If they broach anything new, I will offer my opinions on it; but, *unless in Parliament*, the thing, for me, shall take its course. I, at present, owe nothing to the country, except to the labouring classes. If I am placed in *Parliament*, it will be my duty to do much, and much I shall do: if I am not placed there, the country will have no demand upon me. Even in the utter ruin and abasement of the country I shall be neither ruined nor abased. Not to possess wealth is nothing to him who does not desire it; and, as to reputation, the

world would have the justice to say, that I have lost none by events which I had foreseen and foretold, and which I had endeavoured to prevent, and for which endeavours I had been most furiously persecuted.

My beloved countrymen and countrywomen, think of these things; and, be assured that, under all circumstances, I shall bear about me and carry with me to the grave the kindest feelings towards you, and the most anxious wishes for your happiness.

I am,

Your friend,

And obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT.

From the LONDON GAZETTE.

FRIDAY, JULY 3.

INSOLVENTS.

SILVESTER, J., Southfleet, Kent, market-gardener.

WHIFFIN, W., New Cross-road, Deptford, timber-merchant.

BANKRUPTS.

BAYLISS, J., Daventry, Northamptonshire, builder.

CHAWNER, W., Hinckley, Leicestershire, tea-dealer.

LOWE, G. J., Stourbridge and St. Nicholas, Worcestershire, mail-contractor.

MAINE, S., St. John-street, Clerkenwell, currier.

M'COY, E., Well-court, Queen-street, and Tyron's-place, Hackney, stationer.

SERJEANT, J., Liverpool, window-blind-manufacturer.

SOLLOWAY, J., Leamington Priors, Warwickshire, innkeeper.

WATTON, J., Upper Bedford-place, surgeon.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

M'GREGOR, J., Kinvaid, Perth, cattle-dealer.

M'GREGOR, J., Bowhouse, Perth, cattle-dealer.

TUESDAY, JULY 7.

INSOLVENT.

ADDISON, W., Taunton, tea-dealer and grocer.

BANKRUPTS.

CATES, J., jun., Margaret-street, Cavendish-square, surgeon and apothecary.

DEACON, J., Berners-street, Oxford-street, upholsterer.

GOODWIN, J., George-inn, Battle, Sussex, innkeeper.
 HOPEWELL, W., Middleton-place, Lenton, Nottinghamshire, joiner and builder.
 LARGIE, J., Liverpool, broker.
 MACKNIGHT, J., Dark-lane, Dawley, Shropshire, draper and grocer.
 MINTON, S., Beak-street, Regent-street, grocer and tea-dealer.
 RHOADES, H., Manchester, spirit-dealer and victualler.
 RICHARDSON, W., King-street, Covent-garden, wine-merchant.
 SIEVERS, E. G. F., Carpenter-street, Mount-street, Grosvenor-square, and Upper Ranelagh-street, Belgrave-square, coal-merchant.
 SOUTHERN, R. P., Heaton Norris, Lancashire, wheelwright.
 STERNBERG, G., Coleman-street, merchant.
 TURLEY, W., Coseley, Staffordshire, canal-carrier.
 WHITE, B., Reading, Berkshire, printer.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION.

HAIG, W., Seggie, Fifeshire, distiller.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, July 6.—

The weather since this day week has been fine; our supplies of all grain were moderate this morning.

Wheat was taken off slowly to-day, at the terms of last Monday.

In prices of Barley, Beans, and Peas, no alteration.

Good fresh English and Scotch Oats are getting very scarce at market, and fetch rather high prices. Irish Oats fully supported last Monday's prices, but there being a good many vessels clearing this morning, to avoid demurrage, no advance could be established: our arrivals of English and Scotch Oats have fallen off to almost nothing, and we expect the Irish will now be very trifling till after harvest.

In corn under lock nothing doing.

Wheat, English, White, new	40s. to 48s.
Old	50s. to 53s.
Red, new	36s. to 38s.
Old	40s. to 46s.
Lincolnshire, red	38s. to 44s.
White	44s. to 48s.
Yorkshire	36s. to 42s.
Northumberl. & Berwick	38s. to 40s.
Fine white	40s. to 42s.
Dundee & choice Scotch	38s. to 42s.

Irish red, good	32s. to 36s.
White	36s. to 38s.
Rye	30s. to 32s.
Barley, English, grinding	24s. to 28s.
Distilling	28s. to 32s.
Malting	—s. to —s.
Chevalier	—s. to —s.
Malt	44s. to 54s.
Fine new	56s. to 64s.
Beans, Tick, new	36s. to 38s.
Harrow	38s. to 40s.
Peas, White, English	34s. to 38s.
Foreign	34s. to 36s.
Gray or Hog	30s. to 36s.
Maples	36s. to 38s.
Oats, Polands	23s. to 26s.
Lincolnshire, short small	24s. to 25s.
Lincolnshire, feed	23s. to 24s.
Yorkshire, feed	24s. to 25s.
Black	25s. to 26s.
Northumberland and Berwick Potato	26s. to 27s.
Ditto, Angus	25s. to 26s.
Banff and Aberdeen, com.	26s. to 27s.
Potato	27s. to 29s.
Irish Potato, new	24s. to 25s.
Feed, new light	19s. to 21s.
Black, new	22s. to 23s.
Foreign feed	22s. to 24s.
Danish & Pomeranian, old	20s. to 22s.
Petersburgh, Riga, &c.	22s. to 24s.
Foreign, in bond, feed	13s. to 14s.
Brew	16s. to 18s.

SMITHFIELD, July 6.

This day's supply of Beasts, Sheep, and Lambs, was both great and good: the grass-fattened part of the former, which constituted nearly the whole of it, being the best, especially the runt part of it, that we, who have known Smithfield intimately more than forty-five years, recollect to have witnessed in it, on a first Monday of July. The supply of Calves and Porkers was tolerably numerous, but in great part of not very superior quality. Trade was, throughout, dull, with Beef, Mutton, Lamb, and Veal, at a depression of from 2d. to 4d. per stone; with Pork at Friday's quotations.

Per stone of 8lbs. sinking offal.

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Inferior Beef	2	0	to	2 2
Ditto Mutton	2	2	to	2 4
Middling Beef	2	8	to	3 6
Ditto Mutton	2	4	to	3 10
Prime Beef	3	8	to	4 0
Ditto Mutton	3	4	to	3 8
Veal	3	0	to	4 0
Pork	3	0	to	4 0
Lamb	4	6	to	5 4

COBBETT-LIBRARY.

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8. MARTENS'S LAW OF NATIONS.—This is the Book which was the foundation of all the knowledge that I have ever possessed relative to public law. The Price is 17s., and the manner of its execution is I think, such as to make it fit for the Library of any Gentleman.

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RHEUMATISM.

HIS Majesty's Royal Letters Patent has recently been granted to Mr. Coles for a Medicated Band, which positively cures Rheumatism, Lumbago, Cramp, &c. &c. The Band is worn near the part affected, and may be removed at pleasure. A great public functionary connected with one of our London Hospitals, whose case, to use his own expression, had baffled every medicine that was quack, and every medicine that was not quack, has sent Mr. Coles his written testimonial, which may be seen at 3, Charing Cross; wherein he admits that Mr. Coles's Rheumatic Bands have completely subdued his disease, and he declared that there was not a man upon the face of the earth who had more reason to be grateful to another than he had to Mr. Coles. Lord Skelmersdale, who had a coachman suffering a martyrdom to this complaint, declared (when he paid Mr. Coles) ere he had worn the Rheumatic Bands five days he was more free from pain than he had been during the preceding five years. The Duchess of Sutherland's gardener, Mr. John Soar, could not walk from West Hill, Surrey, to order the Rheumatic Bands, but he was able to walk that distance, twelve miles, to pay for them, and back again; and he begged Mr. Coles would let the world know that.

"To Mr. Coles,

"Having been afflicted with Rheumatism thirty years, and severely so for the last nineteen months, two months of which I was in St. George's Hospital, and I have since been confined to my bed six weeks together under surgical treatment, during which time I was bled fourteen times, besides blistered and cupped, and employing other remedies said to be infallible for its cure; but all to no purpose, as I could scarcely rise from my chair or walk the length of my room. Whilst in this state of suffering, a friend procured your Patent Rheumatic Band, and I can truly say that it has afforded me a hundred times greater relief during the five weeks I have worn it than all the other remedies put together, and I am now able to resume my business, to the great astonishment of all that know me.

"I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

"JOSEPH HOLDER FRESHWATER.

"Harrow-on-the-Hill,

"25. April, 1835."

Mr. T. Frank (grazier), of Kebworth, Leicestershire, in a letter dated 27. June, 1835, says, that he has been a great sufferer at times for many years past, and severely so about a month since, when a friend procured him Coles's Patent Band, which relieved his sufferings in two days, and in less than three weeks entirely removed the complaint.

Mr. Benjamin Cole, footman to Sir Robert Peel, in a note dated 29. June, 1835, says, that he has suffered the most excruciating pain in

his back and loins from Rheumatism for six weeks, and finding no relief from surgical treatment, had recourse to Coles's Rheumatic Band, which afforded him almost instantaneous relief, and in three weeks entirely removed the complaint.

Joseph Clay, Esq., of Arden Mills, Denton, near Manchester, in a letter dated 2. July, says, "I have received the Rheumatic Bands, the whole of which I have worn since May last, and I have the pleasure to state that they have relieved my sufferings in my shoulders, wrist, knees, and hip. I still feel weak in my ankles, but on the whole I think that by persevering with them, they will make me young again.

To persons afflicted with that dangerous and painful disease, Hernia, the Trusses of Mr. Coles's invention are the best, 3, Charing Cross (Truss Maker to his Majesty's forces), from the numerous testimonials borne to the excellence and simplicity of his Patent Truss by the first practitioners in Surgery, including many cases of actual cure published in Coles's Gazette. It is gratifying to learn that the victims of this distressing malady are thus rescued from their sufferings. ¶ Read the case of William Cobbett, Esq., M. P., in Boyle's Court Guide; Coles' Gazette, on Rupture, and Coles on Rheumatism; Published and sold by Sherwood and Co., and Wm. Strange, London. Each one penny, or sixpence per dozen.

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